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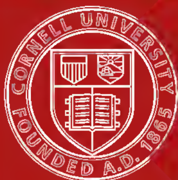

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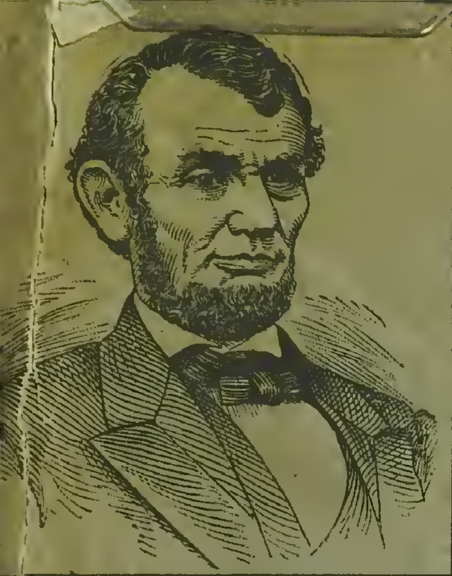

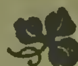

Lincoln's Words on Living Questions

EDITED BY

H. S. TAYLOR

AND D. M. FULWILER

TRUSTY PUBLISHING CO.

418 Roanoke Bldg. *CHICAGO, ILL.*

LINCOLN'S WORDS ON LIVING QUESTIONS

A COLLECTION

OF ALL THE RECORDED UTTERANCES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN BEARING UPON THE QUESTIONS OF TODAY.

EDITED BY

H. S. TAYLOR and D. M. FULWILER

Paper, 25 cents. Cloth, 75 cents

THE TRUSTY PUBLISHING COMPANY

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PREFACE

At the present time, when our Great Republic seems to be rapidly entering upon new and untried ways of profound moment to us and our posterity, it is but a reasonable prudence that the American people should seek counsel from the now universally admitted wisdom and patriotism of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. To facilitate such inquiry is the purpose of this book.

In the following pages are presented, as we believe, every recorded quotable expression of Mr. Lincoln bearing upon questions of to-day, with dates and places of delivery and with authorities therefor cited. For convenience these quotations have been arranged topically. Every accessible source of information has been attentively examined by the editors, patiently and fairly, with the purpose of collecting in one compact volume everything of enduring value and present application that ever fell from the lips or flowed from the pen of the Great Emancipator.

In the course of our investigations, besides numerous files of old newspapers, pamphlets, etc., the following well known authors have been consulted, viz. : — Bancroft, Sumner, Arnold, Barrett, Brockett, Herndon and Weik, Raymond, Hanaford, Howells, Powers, Piatt, Townsend, Schurz, Coffin, Morse, VanBuren, Gilmore, Lamon, Tarbell and Davis, Hapgood, Nicolay and Hay, Carpenter, Irelan, Kelly, Stoddard, Coggeshall, Boyd, Tarbell and Shibley.

H. S. TAYLOR.
D. M. FULWILER.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

I

(December 20, 1859, Letter to J. W. Fell—Complete Works, Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 1, p. 596.)

J. W. Fell, Esq.

My dear Sir: Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate anything from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself. Yours very truly. A. Lincoln.

I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin county, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon county, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham county, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by the

Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks county, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father at the death of his father was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer county, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three." If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have

picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, Macon county. Then I got to New Salem, at the time in Sangamon, now in Menard county, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk war, and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a success that gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went through the campaign, was elated, ran for the Legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten—the only time I ever have been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During this legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was once elected to the Lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practised more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics; and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought de-

sirable, it may be said I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected.

Yours truly,

Hon. J. W. Fell. A. Lincoln.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. MEANING AND PURPOSE.

2

(August 12, 1858, Speech at Beardstown, Ill.—Life by Herndon, p. 415. Speaking of the Fathers of the Republic.)

These by their representatives in old Independence Hall said to the whole race of men: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all his creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on and degraded and imbruted by its fellows. They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children, and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should in-

habit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when, in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty; let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution. Think nothing of me; take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever, but

come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I do claim to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. But do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity—the Declaration of American Independence!

3

(February 22, 1861, Speech at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.—Life by Raymond, p. 154.)

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here, in this place, where were collected the wisdom, patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live.

You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated

and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted the Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence.

* * * I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved on this basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved on that principle it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say, I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. * * * I have said nothing but what I am willing to live

by, and if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.

4

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 22.)

Now it happens that we meet together once every year, sometimes about the Fourth of July for some reason or other. These Fourth of July gatherings I suppose have their uses. If you will indulge me I will state what I suppose to be some of them.

We are now a mighty nation; we are thirty or about thirty millions of people, and we own and inhabit about one-fifteenth part of the dry land of the whole earth. We run our memory back over the pages of history for about eighty-two years, and we discover that we were then a very small people in point of numbers, vastly inferior to what we are now, with a vastly less extent of country, with vastly less of everything we deem desirable among men. We look upon the change as exceedingly advantageous to us and to our posterity, and we fix upon something that happened away back as in some way or other being connected with this rise of prosperity. We find a race of men living in that day whom we claim as our fathers and grandfathers; they were iron men; they fought for the principle they were contending for; and we understood that by what they then did it has followed that the de-

gree of prosperity which we now enjoy has come to us. We hold this annual celebration to remind ourselves of all the good done in this process of time, of how it was done and who did it, and how we are historically connected with it; and we go from these meetings in better humor with ourselves, we feel more attached, the one to the other, and more firmly bound to the country we inhabit. In every way we are better men in the age and race and country in which we live for these celebrations. But after we have done all this we have not yet reached the whole. There is something else connected with it. We have besides these, men—descended by blood from our ancestors—among us, perhaps half of our people, who are not descendants at all of these men; they are men who have come from Europe—German, Irish, French and Scandinavian—men that have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equals in all things. If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days by blood they find they have none. They cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us, but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence they find that those old men say that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," and then they

feel that that moral sentiment, taught in that day, evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that Declaration, and so they are. That is the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world.

5

(February 21, 1861, Address to the Senate of New Jersey.—Life by Hanaford, p. 69.)

Away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger members have ever seen—"Weem's Life of Washington." I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberty of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river, the contest with the Hessians, the great hardships endured at that time, all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single Revolutionary event; and you all know, for you have all been boys, how these early impressions last longer than any others. I recollect thinking

then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that those men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing which they struggled for, that something even more than national independence, that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world in all time to come—I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution and the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made, and I shall be happy, indeed, if I shall be a humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this, His almost chosen people, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle.

6

(October 15, 1858, Speech at Alton, Ill.—Debates, p. 225.)

I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not mean to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say that all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This they said and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth, that all were then actually en-

joying that equality, or yet, that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even, though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors, everywhere.

7

(June 26, 1857, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Life and Speeches by Howells, p. 181.)

The assertion "That all men are created equal" was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling-block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants and they meant, when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them, at least, one hard nut to crack.

8

(June 26, 1857, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Howells, p. 182. Answering Judge Douglas' argument that the Declaration was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonists in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their allegiance from the British crown.)

My good friends, read that carefully over some leisure hour, and ponder well upon it; see what a mere wreck—mangled ruin—it makes of our once glorious Declaration. "They were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain?" Why, according to this, not only negroes but white people outside of Great Britain and America were not spoken of in that instrument. The English, Irish and Scotch, along with white Americans, were included, to be sure; but the French, Germans and other white people of the world are all gone to pot along with the Judge's inferior races!

I had thought that the Declaration promised something better than the condition of British subjects; but no, it only meant that we should be equal to them in their own oppressed and unequal condition. According to that it gave no promise that having kicked off the king and lords of Great Britain we should not at once be saddled with a king and lords of our own. I had thought the Declaration contemplated the progressive improvement in the condition of all men everywhere, but no it merely "was adopted for the purpose of justifying

the colonies in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their connection with the mother country."

Why, that object having been effected some eighty years ago, the Declaration is of no practical use now—mere rubbish—old wadding left to rot on the battle-field after the victory is won.

9

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 23.)

Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying, that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow,—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of king-craft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument. * * * Turn in whatever way you will—whether it come from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent; and I hold if that course of argumentation that is made for the purpose of convincing the pub-

lic mind that we should not care about this, should be granted, it does not stop with the negro. I should like to know, if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book in which we find it, and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it! If it is not true let us tear it out. (Cries of No, No.) Let us stick to it then, let us stand firmly by it, then! * * * Let us discard all this quibbling about this man or the other man, this race and that race, and the other race being inferior and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position—discarding our standard that we have left us! Let us discard all these things and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal. * * * I leave you hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created equal.

10

(July 17, 1858, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Debates, p. 63.)

I have said that I do not understand the Declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all

respects. They are not our equal in color; but I suppose that it does mean to declare that all men are equal in their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Certainly the negro is not our equal in color—perhaps not in many other respects—still in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black. In pointing out that more has been given you, you cannot be justified in taking away the little which has been given him. All I ask for the negro is that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy.

II

(July 4, 1861, Message.—Pen and Voice, Van Buren, p. 91; Speaking of the Confederate Constitution.)

Our adversaries have adopted some declaration of independence, in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words "All men are created equal." Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one signed by Washington, they omit "We the people" and substitute "We the deputies of the sovereign and independent States." Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people? This is essentially a people's contest. On

the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuits to all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend and I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this.

12

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 23.)

It is said in one of the admonitions of our Lord, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." The Saviour, I suppose, did not expect that any human creature could be perfect as the Father in Heaven; but he said, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." He set that up as a standard, and he who did most toward reaching that standard, attained the highest degree of moral perfection. So I say in relation to the principle that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature. Let us, then, turn this government back into the channel

in which the framers of the constitution originally placed it.

13

(August 24, 1858, Letter to Mr. Speed—Hanaford, p. 226.)

Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that "All men are created equal." We now, practically, read it, "All men are created equal except negroes." When the know-nothings get control it will read: "All men are created equal except negroes, and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

14

(June 26, 1857, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Raymond, p. 48.)

In those days our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all, and thought to include all; but now to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal it is assailed and sneered at and construed and hawked at and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it.

15

(December 10, 1856, Speech at banquet in Chicago, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 226.)

Thus let bygones be bygones, let past differences as nothing be and with steady eye on the real issue let us reinaugurate the good old "central ideas" of the republic. We can do it. The human heart is with us! God is with us! We shall again be able not to declare that "all States as States are equal," nor yet that all "citizens as citizens are equal," but to renew the broader, better declaration, including both these and much more, that all men are created equal!

16

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill.—Howells, p. 294.)

Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it the practices and policy which harmonize with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only save the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and keep it forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free, happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations.

17

(August 15, 1855, Letter to George Robertson—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 216.)

When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth; but now when we have grown fat and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evident lie." The Fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day—for burning fire-crackers!

18

(February 21, 1861, Speech at Continental Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa. —Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 690.)

Your worthy Mayor has expressed the wish, in which I join with him, that it were convenient for me to remain in your city long enough to consult your merchants and manufacturers; or, as it were to listen to those breathings rising within the consecrated walls wherein the Constitution of the United States, and I will add, the Declaration of Independence, were originally framed and adopted. I assure you and your Mayor that I had hoped on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls. I have never asked anything that does not breathe

from these walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that came forth from these sacred walls. May my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if ever I prove false to those teachings.

19

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill.—Howells, p. 292. By the phrase "Nebraska men" Mr. Lincoln meant supporters of the Nebraska Bill.)

Little by little, but steadily as man's march to the grave, we have been giving up the old for the new faith. Near eighty years ago we began by declaring that all men are created equal; but, now, from that beginning we have run down to the other declaration that for some men to enslave others is a "sacred right of self-government." These principles cannot stand together. They are as opposite as God and Mammon; and whoever holds to the one must despise the other. When Pettit, in connection with his support of the Nebraska Bill, called the Declaration of Independence "a self-evident lie" he only did what consistency and candor required all other Nebraska men to do. Of the forty odd Nebraska Senators who sat present and heard him, no one rebuked him. Nor am I apprised that any Nebraska newspaper or any Nebraska orator in the whole nation has ever yet rebuked him. If this had been said among Marion's men, Southerners

though they were, what would have become of the man who said it? If this had been said to the men who captured André, the man who said it would probably have been hung sooner than André was. If it had been said in old Independence Hall seventy-eight years ago, the very doorkeeper would have throttled the man and thrust him into the street.

LIBERTY.

20

(March 4, 1865, Second Inaugural Address—The Man of the People, Hapgood, p. 404.)

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict, itself, should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed

time, He now wills to remove and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether!"

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

21

(January 27, 1837, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 14. Speaking of the Revolution.)

At the close of that struggle nearly every adult male had been a participator in some of its scenes.

The consequence was that of those scenes in the form of a husband, a father, a son or a brother, a living history was to be found in every family—a history bearing the indubitable testimonies of its own authenticity, in the limbs mangled, in the scars of wounds received, in the midst of the very scenes related—a history, too, that could be read and understood alike by all, the wise and the ignorant, the learned and the unlearned. But those histories are gone. They can be read no more forever. They were a fortress of strength; but what invading foeman could never do, the silent artillery of time has done—the levelling of its walls. They are gone. They were a forest of giant oaks; but the all-restless hurricane has swept over them and left only here and there a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage, unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few more gentle breezes, and to combat with its mutilated limbs a few more ruder storms, then to sink and be no more!

22

(September 11, 1858, Speech, reported in Chicago Daily Press and Tribune, September 15, 1858.)

And when by all these means you have succeeded in dehumanizing the negro; when you have put him down, and made it impossible for him to be but as the beasts of the field; when you have extinguished his soul and placed him where the ray

of hope is blown out in the darkness that broods over the spirits of the damned, are you quite sure the demon you have roused will not turn and rend you? What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling seacoasts, the guns of our war steamers or the strength of our gallant and disciplined army. These are not our reliance against a resumption of tyranny in our fair land. All of them may be turned against our liberties without making us stronger or weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism around your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you are preparing your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of those around you, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you. And, let me tell you, all these things are prepared for you, with the sure logic of history, if the elections shall promise that the next Dred Scott decision and all future decisions will be quietly acquiesced in by the people!

23

(January 27, 1837, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Hapgood, p. 60.)

At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, If it ever reach us it must spring up among us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time, or die by suicide!

24

(January 27, 1837, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Coffin, p. 97.)

We find ourselves in peaceful possession of the fairest portion of the earth as regards extent of territory, fertility of soil and salubrity of climate. We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions conducing more essentially to the ends of civil and religious liberty

than any of which the history of former times tells us. We find ourselves the legal inheritors of these fundamental blessings. We toiled not in the acquirement or establishment of them, they are a legacy bequeathed to us by a once hardy, brave and patriotic, but now lamented and departed, race of ancestors. Theirs was the task (and nobly they performed it) to possess themselves, and through themselves us, of this goodly land, and to uprear upon its hills and in its valleys a political edifice of liberty and equal rights. It is ours, only, to transmit these—the former unprofaned by the foot of an invader, the latter undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation—to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know. This task, gratitude to our fathers, justice to ourselves, duty to posterity and love for our species, in general, all imperatively require us faithfully to perform.

25

(January 27, 1837, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 13.)

Many great and good men, sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found whose ambition would aspire to nothing beyond a seat in Congress, a gubernatorial or a presidential chair; but such belong not to the family of the lion, or the tribe of the eagle. What! Think

you these places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon? Never!

Towering genius disdains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. It sees no distinction in adding story to story upon the monuments of fame erected to the memory of others. It denies that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor however illustrious. It thirsts and burns for distinction; and, if possible, it will have it, whether at the expense of emancipating slaves or enslaving free men. Is it unreasonable then to expect that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time spring up among us? And when such an one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the government and laws and generally intelligent to successfully frustrate his designs.

26

(July 1, 1854, Fragment—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 179.)

If A can prove, however conclusively, that he may, of right, enslave B, why may not B snatch the same argument and prove equally that he may enslave A? You say A is white and B is black. It is color, then—the lighter having the right to enslave the darker? Take care! By this rule you are

to be slave to the first man you meet with a fairer skin than your own. You do not mean color exactly? You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the blacks, and, therefore, have the right to enslave them? Take care, again! By this rule you are to be slave to the first man you meet with an intellect superior to your own. But, say you, it is a question of interest; and, if you make it your interest, you have the right to enslave another. Very well! And, if he can make it his interest, he has the right to enslave you!

27

(February 11, 1861, Speech at Indianapolis, Ind.—Van Buren, p. 19.)

I will only say that to the salvation of the Union there needs but one single thing, the hearts of a people like yours. When the people rise in mass in behalf of the Union and the liberties of this country, truly may it be said, "The gates of hell cannot prevail against them." In all trying positions in which I shall be placed, and doubtless I shall be placed in many such, my reliance will be upon you and the people of the United States; and I wish you to remember, now and forever, that it is your business, and not mine; that if the Union of these States and the liberties of this people shall be lost, it is but little to any one man of fifty-two years of age, but a great deal to the thirty millions of people who inhabit

these United States, and to their posterity in all coming time. It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves, and not for me. I appeal to you again to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you, is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?

28

(November 19, 1858, Letter to H. Asbury—Herndon, p. 414.)

The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats.

29

(April 4, 1864, Letter to A. G. Hodges—Life by Barrett, p. 480.)

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel.

30

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill.—Howells, p. 286.)

Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism. * * * Repeal the Missouri Compromise—repeal all compromises—repeal the Declaration of Independence

—repeal all past history—you still cannot repeal human nature. It still will be the abundance of man's heart that slavery extension is wrong, and out of the abundance of his heart his mouth will continue to speak.

31

(August 21, 1858, Speech at Ottawa, Ill.—Debates, p. 74.)

This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert zeal, for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our Republican example of its just influence in the world, enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites, causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticising the Declaration of Independence and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

32

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill.—Howells, p. 293.)

Is there no danger to liberty itself in discarding the earliest practice and first precept of our ancient faith? In our greedy chase to make profit of the negro, let us beware lest we "cancel and tear in pieces" even the white man's charter of freedom.

33

(November 19, 1858, Letter to Dr. Henry—Herndon, p. 414.)

I am glad that I made the late race. It gave me a hearing on the great and durable questions of the age which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of liberty long after I am gone.

34

(March 17, 1865, Speech to an Indiana Regiment—Hapgood, p. 386.)

I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others. Whenever I hear any one arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.

35

(November 21, 1864, Letter to Mrs. Bixby—Van Buren, p. 392.)

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I

cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom. Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

Abraham Lincoln.

36

(December 20, 1839, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Hanaford, p. 52.)

Many free countries have lost their liberties, and ours may lose hers; but if she shall, may it be my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert her, but that I never deserted her! * * * The probability that we may fall in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause that we deem to be just. It shall not deter me. * * * Let none falter who thinks he is right, and we may succeed. But if after all we shall fail, be it so. We shall have the proud consolation of saying to our conscience, and to the departed shade of our country's freedom, that the course approved by our judgments and adored by our hearts, in disaster, in chains, in torture, in death, we never faltered in defending.

37

(February 22, 1842, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. 1, p. 63.)

This is the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the birthday of Washington; we are met to celebrate this day. Washington is the mightiest name of earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE.

38

(July 16, 1852, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 171.)

A free people in times of peace and quiet—when pressed by no common danger—naturally divide into parties. At such times the man who is of neither party is not, cannot be of any consequence.

39

(December 3, 1864, Interview—Hapgood, p. 385.)

You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.

40

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Raymond, p. 168.)

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The

people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

41

(August 26, 1863, Letter to James C. Conkling—Herndon, p. 552.)

I freely acknowledge myself the servant of the people, according to the bond of service — the United States Constitution—and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

42

(June 17, 1858, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Debates, p. 1.)

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall —but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other.

43

(December 10, 1856, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 225.)

Our government rests in public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government, practically, just so much. Public opinion, on any subject, always has a "central idea" from which all its minor thoughts radiate. That "central

idea" in our political public opinion at the beginning has been, and until recently has continued to be, the equality of men.

44

(March 5, 1860, Speech at Hartford, Conn.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 613.)

Public opinion settles every question here. Any policy to be permanent must have public opinion at the bottom—something in accordance with the philosophy of the human mind as it is. The property basis will have its weight. The love of property and a consciousness of right and wrong have conflicting places in our organization, which often make a man's course seem crooked, his conduct a riddle.

45

(February 9, 1865, Reply to Committee of Congress reporting result of Electoral Count—Coffin, p. 487.)

With deep gratitude to my countrymen for this mark of their confidence; with distrust of my own ability to perform the duty required under the most favorable circumstances, and now rendered doubly difficult by exciting national perils; yet with a firm reliance on the strength of our free government and the eventual loyalty of the people to the just principles upon which it is founded, and above all with an unshaken faith in the Supreme Ruler of nations, I accept the trust.

46

(December 6, 1864, Annual Message—Raymond, p. 633.)

In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable; and yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority, simply because it is the will of the majority.

47

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Raymond, p. 167.)

A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily, with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. * * * The rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement is wholly inadmissible; so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

48

(February 14, 1861, Speech at Steubenville, Ohio—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 677.)

If the majority should not rule, who would be the judge? Where is such a judge to be found? We should all be bound by the majority of the American people; if not, then the minority must control. Would that be right? Would it be just or gener-

ous? Assuredly not. I reiterate that the majority should rule. If I adopt a wrong policy, the opportunity for condemnation will occur in four years' time. Then I can be turned out, and a better man with better views put in my place.

49

(September 30, 1859, Speech at Milwaukee, Wis.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 577.)

Farmers being the most numerous class, it follows that their interest is the largest interest. It also follows that that interest is most worthy of all to be cherished and cultivated—that if there be inevitable conflict between that interest and any other, that other should yield.

50

(May 17, 1859, Letter to Dr. Theodore Canisius concerning law of naturalization, etc.—Howells, p. 85.)

As I understand the spirit of our institutions, it is designed to promote the elevation of men. I am therefore hostile to anything that tends to their debasement. It is well known that I deplore the oppressed condition of the blacks, and it would, therefore, be very inconsistent for me to look with approval upon any measure that infringes upon the inalienable rights of white men whether or not they are born in another land or speak a different language from our own. In respect to a fusion, I am in favor of it whenever it can be effected on Re-

publican principles; but upon no other condition. A fusion upon any other platform would be as insane as unprincipled. It would thereby lose the whole North while the common enemy would still have the support of the South. The question in relation to men is different. There are good and patriotic men and able statesmen in the South whom I would willingly support if they would place themselves on Republican ground; but I shall oppose the lowering of the Republican standard even by a hair's breadth.

51

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 19.)

I have said many times * * * that no man believed more than I in the principle of self-government; that it lies at the bottom of all my ideas of just government from beginning to end. * * * I deny that any man has ever gone ahead of me in his devotion to the principle, whatever he may have done in efficiency in advocating it.

52

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill.—Howells, p. 279.)

Well I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are and will continue to be as good as the average of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern

another man without that other's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American Republicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed. Now the relation of master and slave is *pro tanto* a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only, is self-government.

53

(October 4, 1854, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Raymond, p. 44.)

My distinguished friend says it is an insult to the emigrants of Kansas and Nebraska to suppose that they are not able to govern themselves. We must not slur over an argument of this kind because it happens to tickle the ear. It must be met and an-

swered. I admit that the emigrant to Kansas and Nebraska is competent to govern himself, but I deny his right to govern any other person without that person's consent.

54

(October 1, 1854, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Coffin, p. 145.)

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man—then that is more than self-government—that is despotism. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us; our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.

55

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 19.)

I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights; that each community, as a State, has a right to do exactly as it pleases with all the concerns within that State that interfere with the right of no other State; and that the general gov-

ernment, upon principle, has no right to interfere with anything other than that general class of things that does concern the whole.

56

(October 1, 1858, Notes for Speeches—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 425.)

Well, I too believe in self-government as I understand it; but I do not understand that the privilege one man takes of making a slave of another, or holding him as such, is any part of "self-government." To call it so is, to my mind, simply absurd and ridiculous. I am for the people of the whole nation doing just as they please in all matters which concern the whole nation; for those of each part doing just as they choose in all matters which concern no other part, and for each individual doing just as he chooses in all matters which concern nobody else. This is the principle.

57

(July 1, 1854, Fragment—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 178.)

Most governments have been based, practically, on the denial of the equal rights of men. Ours began by affirming those rights. They said, "some men are too ignorant and vicious to share in government." "Possibly so," said we, "and by your system you would always keep them ignorant and vicious. We propose to give all a chance; and we

expect the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant wiser and all better and happier together."

58

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill.—Howells, p. 284.)

Finally I insist that if there is anything that is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to hands but their own that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions.

59

(September 16, 1859, Speech at Columbus, O.—Debates, p. 242.)

I think a definition of genuine popular sovereignty, in the abstract, would be about this: That each man shall do precisely as he pleases with himself and with all those things which exclusively concern him. Applied to government, this principle would be, that a general government shall do all those things which pertain to it, and all the local governments shall do precisely as they please in respect to those matters which exclusively concern them. I understand that this government of the United States, under which we live, is based upon this principle; and I am misunderstood if it is supposed that I have any war to make upon that principle.

60

(August 21, 1858, Speech at Ottawa, Ill.—Debates, p. 76.)

The great variety of the local institutions in the States, springing from differences in the soil, differences in the face of the country, and in the climate, are bonds of union. They do not make "a house divided against itself," but they make a house united. If they produce in one section of the country what is called for by the wants of another section, and this other section can supply the wants of the first, they are not matters of discord but bonds of union, true bonds of union.

61

(July 5, 1861, Annual Message—Raymond, p. 186.)

This relative matter of National power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—to the general government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State.

62

(July 1, 1854, Fragment—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 180.)

The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do for themselves, in their separate and individual capaci-

ties. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere. The desirable things which the individuals of a people cannot do, or cannot well do for themselves fall into two classes: those which have relation to wrongs, and those which have not. Each of those branch off into an infinite variety of subdivisions.

The first—that in relation to wrongs—embraces all crimes, misdemeanors, and nonperformance of contracts. The other embraces all which, in its nature, and without wrong, requires combined action, as public roads and highways, public schools, charities, pauperism, orphanage, estates of the deceased and the machinery of government itself.

From this it appears that if all men were just, there still would be some, though not so much, need of government.

63

(February 11, 1861, Speech at Indianapolis, Ind.—Hanaford, p. 68.)

By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution, for that by the bond we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself and ruin

all that which is larger than itself. If a State and a county, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory, and equal in number of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the county? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of rights upon principle? On what rightful principle may a State, being not more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation and then coerce a proportionally larger subdivision of itself in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country with its people by merely calling it a State?

64

(July 5, 1861, First Annual Message—Raymond, p. 194.)

The States have their *status* in the Union, and they have no other legal *status*. If they break from this they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State Constitution independent of the Union.

65

(July 5, 1861, First Annual Message—Raymond, p. 196.

It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the government has now on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts and sciences, professions and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a president, a cabinet, a congress and perhaps a court abundantly competent to administer the government itself.

66

(December 3, 1861, Annual Message—Van Buren, p. 120.)

From the first taking of our national census to the last are seventy years, and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things that men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have at one view what the popu-

lar principles applied to government through the machinery of the States and the Union has produced in a given time and what if firmly maintained it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions.

The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day—it is for the vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and carnest let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

67

(April 6, 1859, Letter in reply to H. L. Pierce and other Republicans of Boston inviting Mr. Lincoln to attend a celebration of Jefferson's birthday—The Republic, Irelan, Vol. XVI, p. 263.)

Gentlemen: Your kind note inviting me to attend a festival in Boston, on the 28th instant, in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, was duly received. My engagements are such that I cannot attend.

Bearing in mind that about seventy years ago two great political parties were first formed in this country, that Thomas Jefferson was the head of one of them and Boston the headquarters of the other, it is both curious and interesting that those supposed to descend politically from the party opposed to Jefferson should now be celebrating his birthday in

their own original seat of empire, while those claiming political descent from him have nearly ceased to breathe his name everywhere.

Remembering, too, that the Jefferson party was formed upon its supposed superior devotion to the personal rights of men, holding the rights of property to be secondary only, and greatly inferior, and assuming that the so-called Democracy of to-day are the Jefferson, and their opponents the anti-Jefferson party, it will be equally interesting to note how completely the two have changed hands as to the principle upon which they were originally supposed to be divided. The Democracy of to-day hold the liberty of one man to be absolutely nothing when in conflict with another man's right of property. Republicans, on the contrary, are for both the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict the man before the dollar.

I remember being once much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engage in a fight with their great-coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

But soberly, it is now no child's play to save the

principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true; but nevertheless he would fail utterly with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashingly calls them "glittering generalities." Another bluntly calls them "self-evident lies." And others insidiously argue that they apply to "superior races." These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation, and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it. All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth,

applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression. Your obedient servant. A. Lincoln.

68

(November 19, 1863, Address at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg—Raymond, p. 412.)

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which

they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

69

(July 5, 1861, Annual Message—Barrett, p. 266.)

I desire to preserve this government that it may be administered for all, as it was administered by the men who made it. On the side of the Union it is a struggle to maintain in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, lift artificial burdens from all shoulders and clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. This is the leading object of the government for which we contend.

70

(August 22, 1864, Speech to an Ohio Regiment—Raymond, p. 607.)

I happen temporarily to occupy this big White House. I am a living witness that any one of your

children may look to come here as my father's child has.

It is in order that each one of you may have through this free government, which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence, that you all may have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations, it is for this the struggle should be maintained that we may not lose our birthrights.

71

(July 26, 1862, Letter to Reverdy Johnson—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 215.)

I am a patient man—always willing to forgive on the Christian terms of repentance, and also to give ample time for repentance. Still I must save this government, if possible. What I cannot do, of course I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed.

72

(August 15, 1863, Opinion of the Draft—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 391.)

Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free government, which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are

we degenerate? Has the manhood of our race run out?

73

(June 20, 1848, Speech, House of Representatives, Ill.—Howells, p. 161.)

The true rule, in determining to embrace or reject anything, is not whether it has any evil in it, but whether it has more of evil than of good. There are few things wholly evil or wholly good. Almost everything, especially of government policy, is an inseparable compound of the two; so that our best judgment of the preponderance between them is continually demanded.

74

(May 30, 1863, Reply to Members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 342.)

As a pilot I have used my best exertions to keep afloat our Ship of State, and shall be glad to resign my trust at the appointed time to another pilot more skillful and successful than I may prove. In every case and at all hazards the government must be perpetuated.

75

(February 18, 1861, Speech to Legislature of New York—Van Buren, p. 34.)

If we have patience, if we restrain ourselves, if we allow ourselves not to run off in a passion, I still have confidence that the Almighty, the Maker

of the universe, will, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people, bring us through this as he has through all the other difficulties of our country.

76

(September 17, 1859, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Debates, p. 267.)

I do not mean to say that this general government is charged with the duty of redressing or preventing all the wrongs in the world; but I do think that it is charged with preventing and redressing all wrongs which are wrongs to itself.

77

(October 7, 1858, Speech at Galesburg, Ill.—Debates, p. 179.)

I have never manifested any impatience with the necessities that spring from the actual presence of black people amongst us and the actual existence of slavery amongst us where it does already exist, but I have insisted that, in legislating for new countries where it does not exist, there is no just rule other than that of moral and abstract right. With reference to those new countries, those maxims as to the right of a people to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were the just rules to be constantly referred to. There is no misunderstanding this except by men interested to misunderstand it.

78

(January 12, 1848, Speech in Congress—Barrett, p. 84.)

Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such a people that can, may revolutionize and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such a people may revolutionize putting down a minority, intermingled with or near about them who may oppose their movement. Such minority was precisely the case of the tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines or old laws, but break up both and make new ones.

79

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Raymond, p. 168.)

This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it.

80

(June 13, 1863, Letter to Corning—Barrett, p. 632.)

The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks ambiguously—talks for his country with "buts and ifs and ands."

81

(July 28, 1862, Letter to Durant—Barrett, p. 569.)

I am in no boastful mood. I shall not do more than I can, but I shall do all I can to save the government, which is my sworn duty as well as my personal inclination. I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing.

82

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Raymond, p. 168.)
[Speaking of amending the Constitution.]

While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should under existing circumstances favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that, to me, the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the

people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse.

83

(September 30, 1859, Speech at Milwaukee, Wis.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 584.)

It is said that an Eastern monarch once charged his wise men to invent him a sentence to be ever in view, and which should be true and appropriate in all times and situations. They presented him the words, "And this, too, shall pass away." How much it expresses! How chastening in the hour of pride! How consoling in the depths of affliction! "And this, too, shall pass away." And yet, let us hope, it is not quite true. Let us hope, rather, that by the best cultivation of the physical world beneath and around us, and the intellectual and moral world within us, we shall secure an individual, social, and political prosperity and happiness, whose course shall be onward and upward, and which, while the earth endures, shall not pass away.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAW.

84

(February 27, 1860, Speech at Cooper Institute, New York—Howells, p. 199.)

I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand.

85

(December 5, 1864, Annual Message—Barrett, p. 668.)

For myself I have no doubt of the power and duty of the executive, under the law of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States.

86

(September 22, 1861, Letter to O. H. Browning—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 81.)

I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law on the point, just such as General Fre-

mont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I, as president, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

87

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Raymond, p. 168.)

By the frame of the government under which we live, the same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

88

(January 27, 1837, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 12.)

When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, or that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say that although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still, while they continue in force, for the sake of the example they should be religiously observed.

89

(July 1, 1848, Fragment—Hapgood, p. 97.)

Finally, were I President, I should desire the legislation of the country to rest with Congress uninfluenced by the executive in its origin or progress and undisturbed by the veto unless in very special and clear cases.

90

(February 15, 1848, Letter to W. H. Herndon—Herndon, p. 282.)

The provision of the constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated as I understand it by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But your view destroys the whole matter and places our President where kings have always stood.

91

(August 15, 1863, Opinion on Draft Act—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 390.)

It has been said, and I believe truly, that the Constitution itself is not altogether such as any one of its framers would have preferred. It was the

joint work of all, and certainly the better that it was so.

92

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Van Buren, p. 53.)

No organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions.

93

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Van Buren, p. 52.)

We find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union."

But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

94

(June 20, 1848, Speech in Congress—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 129.)

I wish now to submit a few remarks on the general proposition of amending the Constitution. As a general rule, I think we would much better let it alone. No slight occasion should tempt us to touch it. Better, rather, habituate ourselves to think of it as unalterable. It can scarcely be made better than it is. New provisions would introduce new difficulties, and thus create and increase appetite for further change.

95

(January 27, 1837, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 12.)

Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property and his sacred honor—let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping

babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice. And in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

96

(January 27, 1837, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 9.)

I hope I am over wary; but if I am not, there is even now something of ill omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country—the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of courts, and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice. * * * By the operation of this mobocratic spirit, which all must admit is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the people. Whenever this effect shall be produced among us; whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands

of hundreds and thousands and burn churches, ravage and rob provision stores, throw printing-presses into rivers, shoot editors and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure, and, with impunity, depend on it, this government cannot last. By such things the feelings of the best citizens will become more or less alienated from it, and thus it will be left without friends, or with too few, and those few too weak, to make their friendship effectual. At such a time, and under such circumstances, men of sufficient talent and ambition will not be wanting to seize the opportunity, strike the blow, and overturn that fair fabric which for the last half century has been the fondest hope of the lovers of freedom throughout the world.

97

(July 27, 1848, Speech in Congress—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 137.)

That the Constitution gives the President a negative on legislation, all know; but that this negative should be so combined with platforms and other appliances as to enable him, and in fact almost compel him, to take the whole of legislation into his own hands is what we object to, is what General Taylor objects to, and is what constitutes the broad distinction between you and us. To thus transfer legislation is clearly to take it from those who understand with minuteness the interest of the people,

and give it to one who does not and cannot so well understand it.

98

(July 5, 1861, First Annual Message—Barrett, p. 266.)

Our popular government has often been called "an experiment." Two points in it our people have settled: the successful establishing and successful administering of it. One still remains — its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets, and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided there can be no successful appeal back to bullets, that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections.

99

(September 2, 1863, Letter to Secretary Chase—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 402.)

Knowing your great anxiety that the Emancipation Proclamation shall now be applied to certain parts of Virginia and Louisiana which were exempt from it last January, I state briefly what appears to me to be difficulties in the way of such a step.

The original proclamation has no constitutional

or legal justification, except as a military measure. The exemptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then. If I take the step, must I not do so without the argument of military necessity, and so without any argument except the one that I think the measure politically expedient and morally right? Would I not thus give up all footing upon Constitution or law? Would I not thus be in the boundless field of absolutism? Could this pass unnoticed or unresisted? Could it fail to be perceived that without any further stretch I might do the same in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, and even change any law in any State? Would not many of our own friends shrink away appalled? Would it not lose us the elections, and with them the very cause we seek to advance?

100

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Van Buren, p. 51.)

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules.

101

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Van Buren, p. 52.)

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States

is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

102

(February 15, 1861, Speech at Pittsburg, Pa.—Raymond, p. 139.)

By the Constitution the Executive may recommend measures which he may think proper, and he may veto those he thinks improper, and it is supposed that he may add to these certain indirect influences to affect the action of Congress. My political education strongly inclines me against a very free use of any of these means by the Executive to control the legislation of the country. As a rule, I think it better that Congress should originate as well as perfect its measures without external bias.

103

(September 15, 1858, Speech at Jonesboro, Ill.—Debates, p. 127.)

What do you understand by supporting the constitution of a State or of the United States? Is it not to give such constitutional helps to the rights

established by that constitution as may be practically needed? Can you, if you swear to support the Constitution and believe that the Constitution establishes a right, clear your oath without giving it support? Do you support the Constitution if, knowing or believing there is a right established under it which needs specific legislation, you withhold that legislation? Do you not violate and disregard your oath? I can conceive of nothing plainer in the world.

104

(April 4, 1864, Letter to A. G. Hodges—Van Buren, p. 351.)

I did understand, however, that the very oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government, that nation of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? * * * I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if to preserve slavery or any minor matter I should permit the wreck of government, country and Constitution altogether.

105

(June 12, 1863, Letter to Erastus Corning and others—Van Buren, p. 271.)

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in the absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not, in its application, in all respects the same in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security.

106

(July 20, 1863, Letter to Ohio Democrats—Van Buren, p. 294.)

You say, "the undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed, that the Constitution is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security."

A recurrence to the paper will show you that I have not expressed the opinion you suppose. I expressed the opinion that the Constitution is different in its application in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and

this opinion I adhere to, simply because, by the Constitution, itself, things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other.

107

(October 19, 1864, Speech at a Serenade—Van Buren, p. 386.)

I am struggling to maintain the government, not to overthrow it. I am struggling especially to prevent others from overthrowing it. I therefore say that, if I shall live, I shall remain President until the fourth of next March, and that whoever shall be constitutionally elected in November shall be duly installed as President on the fourth of March. This is due to the people, both on principle and under the Constitution. Their will, constitutionally expressed, is the ultimate law for all. If they should deliberately resolve to have peace, even at the loss of their country and their liberty, I know not the power or the right to resist them. It is their business, and they must do as they please with their own. I believe, however, they are still resolved to preserve their country and their liberty; and, in this office or out, I am resolved to stand by them.

108

(July 4, 1864, To Senator Chandler—Morse, Vol. II, p. 233.)

I do not see how any of us now can deny and contradict what we have always said, that Congress

has no constitutional power over slavery in the States.

109

(August 26, 1863, Letter to James C. Conkling—Herndon, p. 552.)

I think the Constitution invests its Commander-in-Chief with the law of war in time of war.

THE COURTS AND THE PEOPLE.

110

(June 17, 1858, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—The persons referred to are Stephen A. Douglas, Franklin Pierce, Roger B. Taney and James Buchanan—Debates, p. 3.)

We cannot absolutely know that these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert, but when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see that they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even the scaffolding—or if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such a piece in—in such a case we feel it impossible not to believe that Stephen, and Franklin, and Roger, and James, all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan, or draft, drawn before the first blow was struck.

111

(June 26, 1857, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Howells, p. 175.)

Why, this Supreme Court once decided a national bank to be constitutional, but General Jackson, as President of the United States, disregarded the decision and vetoed the bill for a recharter partly on constitutional grounds, declaring that each public functionary must support the Constitution, "as he understands it." But hear the General's own words. Here they are, taken from his veto message:

"If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the co-ordinate authorities of this government. The Congress, the Executive and the Court must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others."

112

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 20.)

Do not gentlemen here remember the case of that same Supreme Court, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, deciding that a national bank was constitutional? * * * The bank charter ran

out, and a recharter was granted by Congress. That recharter was laid before General Jackson. It was urged upon him, when he denied the constitutionality of the bank, that the Supreme Court had decided that it was constitutional; and that General Jackson then said that the Supreme Court had no right to lay down a rule to govern a co-ordinate branch of the government, the members of which had sworn to support the Constitution—that each member had sworn to support that Constitution as he understood it.

113

(July 17, 1858, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Debates, p. 61.)

I shall read from a letter written by Mr. Jefferson in 1820, and now to be found in the seventh volume of his correspondence at page 177. It seems he had been presented by a gentleman of the name of Jarvis with a book, or essay, or periodical, called the "Republican," and he was writing in acknowledgment of the present and noting some of its contents. After expressing the hope that the work will produce a favorable effect upon the minds of the young, he proceeds to say:

"That it will have this tendency may be expected, and for that reason I feel an urgency to note what I deem an error in it, the more requiring notice as your opinion is strengthened by that of many oth-

ers. You seem, in pages 84 and 148, to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions—a very dangerous doctrine indeed, and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our judges are as honest as other men, and not more so. They have, with others, the same passion for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps. Their maxim is '*boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem;*' and their power is the more dangerous as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control. The Constitution has erected no such single tribunal, knowing that, to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and party, its members would become despots. It has more wisely made all the departments co-equal and co-sovereign with themselves."

Now I have said no more than this—in fact, never quite so much as this—at least I am sustained by Mr. Jefferson.

Let us go a little further. * * * General Jackson himself asserted that he, as President, would not be bound to hold a national bank to be constitutional, even though the court had decided it to be so. He fell in precisely with the view of Mr. Jefferson, and acted upon it under his official oath, in vetoing a charter for a national bank.

114

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 20.)

What is fairly implied by the term * * * "resistance to the decision?" I do not resist it. If I wanted to take Dred Scott from his master, I would be interfering with property, and that terrible difficulty * * * of interfering with property would arise. But I am doing no such thing as that, but all that I am doing is refusing to obey it as a political rule.

115

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 20.)

What are the uses of decisions of courts? They have two uses. As rules of property they have two uses. First, they decide upon the question before the court. They decide in this case that Dred Scott is a slave. Nobody resists that. Not only that, but they say to everybody else, that persons standing just as Dred Scott stands, are as he is. That is, they say, when a question comes up upon another person, it will be so decided again unless the court decides in another way, unless the court overrules its decision. Well, we mean to do what we can to have the court decide the other way. That is one thing we mean to try to do.

116

(September 17, 1859, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Debates, p. 268.)

The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and Courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.

117

(October 13, 1858, Speech at Quincy, Ill.—Debates, p. 197.)

We oppose the Dred Scott decision in a certain way upon which I ought, perhaps, address you a few words. We do not propose that when Dred Scott has been decided to be a slave by the court we, as a mob, will decide him to be free. We do not propose that when any other one, or one thousand, shall be decided by that court to be slaves, we will, in any violent way, disturb the rights of property thus settled; but we, nevertheless, do oppose that decision as a political rule which shall be binding on the voter to vote for nobody who thinks it wrong; which shall be binding on the members of Congress or the President to favor no measure that does not actually concur with the principles of that decision. We do not propose to be bound by it as a political rule in that way, because we think it lays the foundation not merely of enlarging and spreading out what we consider an evil, but it lays

the foundation for spreading that evil into the States themselves. We propose so resisting it as to have it reversed, if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject.

118

(June 17, 1858, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Debates, p. 61.)

I am opposed to that decision in a certain sense, but not in the sense which he puts on it. I say that in so far as it decides in favor of Dred Scott's master and against Dred Scott and his family, I do not propose to disturb or resist the decision. I never have proposed to do any such thing. * * * He would have the citizen conform his vote to that decision, the member of Congress his, the President his use of the veto power. He would make it a rule of political action for the people and all the departments of the government. I would not. By resisting it as a political rule I disturb no rights of property, create no disorder, excite no mobs.

119

(September 17, 1859, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Debates, p. 257.)

We know that in a government like this, in a government of the people, where the voice of all the men of that country, substantially, enters into the execution—or administration rather—of the government, in such a government what lies at the bottom of all of it is public opinion.

120

(August 21, 1858, Speech at Ottawa, Ill.—Debates, p. 82.)

In this and like communities public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed.

121

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Raymond, p. 167.)

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to the suit, as to the objects of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases, by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must

confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation, between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

SUFFRAGE AND ELECTIONS.

122

(November 10, 1864, Response to a Serenade—Van Buren, p. 391.)

Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good.

Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as a philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good, too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now it was not known to the world that this was a possibility.

123

(January 30, 1861, Interview Published in New York Tribune—Van Buren, p. 16.)

I will suffer death before I will consent, or advise my friends to consent, to any concessions or compromise which looks like buying the privilege of taking possession of the government to which we have a constitutional right.

124

(October 1, 1858, Notes for a Speech—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 427.)

To give the victory to the right, no bloody bullets but peaceful ballots, only, are necessary. Thanks to our good old Constitution, and organization under it, these alone are necessary. It only needs that every right thinking man shall go to the polls, and, without fear or prejudice, vote as he thinks.

125

(November 20, 1860, Remarks at the Celebration of his Election, Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 655.)

In all our rejoicings, let us neither express nor cherish any hard feelings toward any citizen who, by his vote, has differed with us. Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should dwell together in bonds of fraternal feeling.

126

(November 10, 1864, Response to a Serenade—Van Buren, p. 390.)

It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of the people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election, occurring in regular

course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections.

127

(June 13, 1836, Announcement of Political Views—Coffin, p. 89.)

I go for all sharing the privilege of the government who assist in bearing its burdens; consequently, I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females.

128

(Interview, Springfield, Ill.—Herndon, p. 625.)

I am opposed to the limitation or lessening of the right of suffrage. If anything I am in favor of its extension or enlargement. I want to lift men up—to broaden rather than contract their privileges.

129

(February 27, 1860, Speech at Cooper Institute, New York—Howells, p. 210.)

To be sure, what the robber demands of me—

my money—was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

130

(October 27, 1863, From Letter to T. Swann—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 431.)

I am somewhat mortified that there could be any doubt of my views upon the point of your inquiry. I wish all loyal qualified voters in Maryland and elsewhere to have the undisturbed privilege of voting at elections; and neither my authority nor my name can be properly used to the contrary.

131

(July 4, 1864, Letter to the Postmaster at Philadelphia, Pa.—Tarbell, Vol. II, p. 204.)

My wish is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage, in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to other than he thinks fit with his.

132

(March 17, 1860, Letter to E. Stafford—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 632.)

Dear Sir: Reaching home on the 14th instant, I found yours of the 1st. Thanking you very sin-

cerely for your kind purpose toward me, I am compelled to say the money part of the arrangement you propose is with me an impossibility. I could not raise ten thousand dollars if it would save me from the fate of John Brown. Nor have my friends, so far as I know, yet reached the point of staking any money on my chances of success. I wish I could tell you better things, but it is even so. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

133

(March 16, 1860, Letter to friend in Kansas—Herndon, p. 458.)

As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong; and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money. I say in the main the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest the use of some is both right and indispensable.

With me, as with yourself, this long struggle has been one of great pecuniary loss. I now distinctly say this: If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip.

134

(October 22, 1864, Letter to Wm. B. Campbell—Barrett, p. 658.)

I presume that the conducting of a presidential

election in Tennessee in strict accordance with the old code of the State, is not now a possibility.

It is scarcely necessary to add that if any election shall be held and any vote cast in the State of Tennessee for President and Vice-President of the United States, it will belong, not to the military agents, nor yet to the executive department, but exclusively to another department of the government, to determine whether they are entitled to be counted in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States. Except it be to give protection against violence, I decline to interfere in any way with any presidential election.

CAPITAL, LAND AND LABOR.

135

(February 12, 1861, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 676.)

In regard to the homestead law, I have to say that in so far as the government lands can be disposed of, I am in favor of cutting up the wild lands into parcels, so that every poor man may have a home.

136

(December 20, 1839, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 24.)

Knowing, as I well do, the difficulty that poor people now encounter in procuring homes, I hesitate not to say that when the price of the public land shall be doubled or trebled, or, which is the same thing, produce and labor cut down to one-half or one-third of their present prices, it will be little less than impossible for them to procure those homes at all.

137

(February 12, 1861, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 676.)

In regard to the Germans and foreigners, I esteem them no better than other people, nor any worse. It is not my nature, when I see a people borne down by the weight of their shackles—the

oppression of tyranny—to make their life more bitter by heaping upon them greater burdens; but rather would I do all in my power to raise the yoke than to add anything that would tend to crush them.

Inasmuch as our country is extensive and new, and the countries of Europe are densely populated, if there are any abroad who desire to make this the land of their adoption, it is not in my heart to throw aught in their way to prevent them from coming to the United States.

138

(October 15, 1858, Speech at Alton, Ill.—Debates, p. 232.)

Now, irrespective of the moral aspect of this question as to whether there is a right or wrong in enslaving a negro, I am still in favor of our new territories being in such a condition that white men may find a home; may find some spot where they can better their condition, where they can settle upon new soil and better their condition in life. I am in favor of this, not merely (I must say it here as I have elsewhere) for our own people who are born amongst us, but as an outlet for free white people everywhere the world over in which Hans, and Baptiste, and Patrick, and all other men from all the world, may find new homes and better their condition in life.

139

(February 2, 1863, Letter to Working Men of London, Eng.—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 308.)

The resources, advantages and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage.

140

(October 1, 1858, Notes for Speeches—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 413.)

Suppose the Rev. Dr. Ross has a slave named Sambo, and the question is, "Is it the will of God that Sambo shall remain a slave, or be set free?" The Almighty gives no audible answer to the question, and his revelation, the Bible, gives none—or at most none but such as admits of a squabble as to its meaning; no one thinks of asking Sambo's opinion of it. So at last it comes to this, that Dr. Ross is to decide the question, and while he considers it he sits in the shade, with gloves on his hands, and subsists on the bread that Sambo is earning in the burning sun. If he decides that God wills Sambo to continue a slave, he thereby retains his own comfortable position; but if he decides that

God wills Sambo to be free, he thereby has to walk out of the shade, throw off his gloves and delve for his own bread. Will Dr. Ross be actuated by the perfect impartiality which has ever been considered most favorable to correct decisions?

141

(February 12, 1861, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 676.)

The workingmen are the basis of all governments, for the plain reason that they are the more numerous.

142

(December 1, 1862, Annual Message—Van Buren, p. 233.)

Labor is like any other commodity in the market—increase the demand for it and you increase the price.

143

(March 6, 1860, Speech at New Haven, Conn.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 622.)

Let each let the other alone, and there is no struggle about it. If it was like two wrecked seamen on a narrow plank, where each must push the other off or drown himself, I would push the negro off—or a white man either; but it is not: the plank is large enough for both. This good earth is plenty broad enough for white man and negro both, and there is no need of either pushing the other off.

144

(July 1, 1854, Fragment on Slavery—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 179.)

There is no permanent class of hired laborers amongst us. Twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer. The hired laborer of yesterday labors on his own account to-day, and will hire others to labor for him to-morrow. Advancement—improvement in condition—is the order of things in a society of equals. As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race.

145

(October 15, 1858, Speech at Alton, Ill.—Debates, p. 234.)

That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes,

whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

146

(December 5, 1864, Annual Message—Raymond, p. 635.)

In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the national authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation. Nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation or by any act of Congress. If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another and not I must be their instrument to perform it.

147

(March 6, 1860, Speech at New Haven, Conn., alluding to shoemakers' strike—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 625.)

I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to

work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not. I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. One of the reasons why I am opposed to slavery is just here. What is the true condition of the laborer? I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else. When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flatboat—just what might happen to any poor man's son. I want every man to have the chance—and I believe a black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition; when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterwards, and finally to hire men to work for him. That is the true system. Up here in New England you have a soil that scarcely sprouts black-eyed beans,

and yet where will you find wealthy men so wealthy, and poverty so rarely in extremity? There is not another such place on earth! I desire that if you get too thick here, and find it hard to better your condition on this soil, you may have a chance to strike and go somewhere else, where you may not be degraded, nor have your family corrupted by forced rivalry with negro slaves. I want you to have a clean bed and no snakes in it. Then you can better your condition, and so it may go on and on in one ceaseless round so long as man exists on the face of the earth.

148

(April 18, 1864, Remarks at Sanitary Fair, Baltimore, Md.—Barrett, p. 477.)

The world is in want of a good definition of the word liberty. We all declare ourselves to be for liberty; but we do not all mean the same thing. Some mean that a man can do as he pleases with himself and his property. With others it means that some men can do as they please with other men and other men's labor. Each of these things is called liberty, although they are entirely different. To give an illustration: A shepherd drives a wolf from the throat of his sheep when attacked by him, and the sheep of course thanks the shepherd for the preservation of his life; but the wolf

denounces him as despoiling the wolf of his liberty; especially if it be a black sheep.

149

(September 17, 1859, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Howells, p. 148.)

Our government was not established that one man might do with himself as he pleases, and with another man, too. I hold that if there is any one thing that can be proved to be the will of Heaven by external nature around us, without reference to revelation, it is the proposition that whatever any one man earns with his hands and by the sweat of his brow, he shall enjoy in peace. I say that, whereas God Almighty has given every man one mouth to be fed, and one pair of hands adapted to furnish food for that mouth, if anything can be proved to be the will of Heaven, it is proved by the fact that that mouth is to be fed by those hands, without being interfered with by any other man, who has also his mouth to feed and his hands to labor with. I hold, if the Almighty had ever made a set of men that should do all the eating and none of the work, He would have made them with mouths only and no hands; and if He had ever made another class that He intended should do all the work, and none of the eating, He would have made them without mouths and with all hands. But inasmuch as He has not chosen to make man in that way, if any-

thing is proved it is that those hands and mouths are to be co-operative through life and not to be interfered with. That they are to go forth and improve their condition, as I have been trying to illustrate, is the inherent right given to mankind directly by the Maker.

150

(December 3, 1861, Annual Message—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 105.)

Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. * * *

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never

have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the highest consideration. * * * No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

151

(March 21, 1864, Reply to Committee of Workingmen's Association of New York—Coffin, p. 395.)

The most notable feature of the disturbance in your city last year was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations, tongues and kindreds; nor should this lead to a war on property or owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor. It is desirable. It is a positive good to the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not

him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

152

(January 19, 1863, Reply to Workingmen of Manchester, Eng.—Raymond, p. 497.)

I know and deeply deplore the suffering which the workingmen at Manchester and in all Europe are called upon to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which would rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe.

Through the action of our disloyal citizens the workingmen of Europe have been subject to severe trials for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances I cannot but regard your decisive utterance upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity and freedom.

153

(Decembsr 1, 1847, Fragment of Speech—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 92.)

In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," and since then, if we except the light and air of Heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government.

154

(September 30, 1859, Speech at Milwaukee, Wis.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 582.)

The old general rule was that educated people did not perform manual labor. They managed to eat their bread, leaving the toil of producing it to the uneducated. This was not an insupportable evil to the working bees, so long as the class of drones remained very small. But now, especially in these free States, nearly all are educated—quite

too nearly all to leave the labor of the uneducated in any wise adequate to the support of the whole. It follows from this that henceforth educated people must labor. Otherwise, education itself would become a positive and intolerable evil. No country can sustain in idleness more than a small percentage of its numbers. The great majority must labor at something productive. From these premises the problem springs, "How can labor and education be the most satisfactorily combined?"

By the "mud-sill' theory it is assumed that labor and education are incompatible, and any practical combination of them impossible. According to that theory a blind horse upon a tread-mill is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be—all the better for being blind, that he could not kick understandingly. According to that theory, the education of laborers is not only useless but pernicious and dangerous. In fact, it is, in some sort, deemed a misfortune that laborers should have heads at all. Those same heads are regarded as explosive materials, only to be safely kept in damp places as far as possible from that peculiar sort of fire which ignites them. A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of the mud-sill advocates.

But free labor says "No." Free labor argues that as the Author of man makes every individual with one head and one pair of hands, it was proba-

bly intended that heads and hands should co-operate as friends, and that that particular head should direct and control that pair of hands. As each man has one mouth to be fed, and one pair of hands to furnish the food, it was probably intended that that particular pair of hands should feed that particular mouth—that each head is the natural guardian, director and protector of the hands and mouth inseparably connected with it, and that being so, every head should be cultivated and improved by whatever will add to its capacity for performing its charge. In one word, free labor insists on universal education.

155

(March 4, 1865, Second Inaugural—Hapgood, p. 403.)

It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces.

156

(May 30, 1864, From Letter to Dr. Ide and Others—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 526.)

To read in the Bible, as the Word of God Himself, that "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," and to preach therefrom that "In the sweat of other men's faces shalt thou eat bread," to my mind can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity. When brought to my final reckoning, may

I have to answer for robbing no man of his goods; yet more tolerable even this, than for robbing one of himself and all that was his. When a year or two ago those professedly holy men of the South met in the semblance of prayer and devotion, and in the name of Him who said, "As ye would all men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," appealed to the Christian world to aid them in doing to a whole race of men as they would have no man do unto themselves, to my thinking they contemned and insulted God and His church far more than did Satan when he tempted the Saviour with the kingdoms of the earth. The devil's attempt was no more false, and far less hypocritical.

157

(September 17, 1859, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Debates, p. 267.)

Labor is the great source from which nearly all, if not all, human comforts and necessities are drawn. There is a difference in opinion about the elements of labor in society. Some men assume that there is a necessary connection between capital and labor, and that connection draws within it the whole of the labor of the community. They assume that nobody works unless capital excites them to work. They begin next to consider what is the best way. They say there are but two ways—one is to hire men and to allure them to labor by their

consent; the other is to buy the men and drive them to it, and that is slavery. Having assumed that, they proceed to discuss the question of whether the laborers themselves are better off in the condition of slaves or of hired laborers, and they usually decide that they are better off in the condition of slaves. In the first place, I say that the whole thing is a mistake. That there is a certain relation between capital and labor I admit. That it does exist, and rightfully exists, I think is true. That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should after awhile accumulate capital, and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace, and also, if they should choose, when they have accumulated it, to use it to save themselves from actual labor, and hire other people to labor for them, is right. In doing so they do not wrong the men they employ, for they find men who have not their own land to work upon, or shops to work in, and who are benefited by working for others—hired laborers, receiving their capital for it. Thus a few men who own capital hire a few others, and these establish the relation of capital and labor rightfully—a relation of which I make no complaint. But I insist that that relation, after all, does not embrace more than one-eighth of the labor of the country.

158

(January, 1837, Speech, Legislature of Illinois—Tarbell, 2v, p. 281.)

These capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert, to fleece the people, and now, that they have got into a quarrel with themselves, we are called upon to appropriate the people's money to settle the quarrel.

159

(1856—History of Abraham Lincoln—Arnold, p. 97.)

We will hereafter speak for freedom and against slavery, as long as the Constitution guarantees free speech; until everywhere on this wide land the sun shall shine, and the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil.

FOREIGN POLICY AND EXPANSION.

160

(September 30, 1859, Speech at Milwaukee, Wis.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 576.)

To correct the evils, great and small, which spring from want of sympathy and from positive enmity among strangers, as nations or as individuals, is one of the highest functions of civilization.

161

(February 15, 1848, Letter to W. H. Herndon—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 111.)

Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such purpose, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see if you can fix a limit to his power in this respect, after having given him so much as you propose. If to-day he should choose to say he thinks it necessary to invade Canada to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him, "I see no probability of the British invading us," but he will say to you, "Be silent; I see it if you don't."

162

(November 15, 1861, Conversation with Benson J. Lossing concerning the capture of Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners, upon the British vessel, Trent—Tarbell, Vol. II, p. 72.)

We must stick to American principles concerning the right of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do exactly what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrine, and thus forever bind her over to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge that she has been wrong for sixty years.

163

(September 18, 1858, Speech at Charlestown, Ill.—Debates, p. 158.)

Whenever there was an attempt to procure a vote of mine which would indorse the origin and justice of the war (Mexican), I refused to give such indorsement and voted against it; but I never voted against the supplies for the army.

164

(February 1, 1848, Letter to W. H. Herndon referring to Lincoln's vote in Congress—Herndon, p. 281.)

That vote affirms that the (Mexican) war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President, and I will stake my life, if you had

been in my place, you would have voted just as I did. Would you have voted what you felt and knew to be a lie? I know you would not. Would you have gone out of the House—skulked the vote? I expect not. If you had skulked one vote, you would have had to skulk many more before the close of the session. Richardson's resolutions, introduced before I made any move, or gave any vote upon the subject, made the direct question of the justice of the war, so that no man can be silent if he would. You are compelled to speak; and your only alternative is to tell the truth or tell a lie.

165

(August 21, 1858, Speech at Ottawa, Ill.—Debates, p. 75.)

You remember I was an Old Whig, and whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the President, I would not do it. But whenever they asked for any money, or land-warrants, or anything to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, I gave the same vote Judge Douglas did. You can think as you please as to whether that was consistent. Such is the truth; and the Judge has the right to make all he can out of it. But when he, by a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting the Mexican War, or did anything else to hinder the

soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove him.

166

(February 1, 1861, Letter to W. H. Seward—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 669.)

I say now, however, as I have all the while said, that on the territorial question—that is, of extending slavery under the national auspices—I am inflexible. I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the nation. And any trick by which the nation is to acquire territory, and then to allow some local authority to spread slavery over it, is as obnoxious as any other. I take it that to effect some such result as this, and put us again on the high road to a slave empire, is the object of all these proposed compromises. I am against it.

167

(February 22, 1860, Lecture on Discoveries and Inventions—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 523.)

As Plato had for the immortality of soul, so Young America has "a pleasing hope, a fond desire,—a longing after" territory. He has a great passion—a perfect rage—for the "new," particularly new men for office, and the new earth mentioned in the Revelations, in which, being no more

sea, there must be about three times as much land as in the present. He is a great friend of humanity, and his desire for land is not selfish, but merely an impulse to extend the area of freedom. He is very anxious to fight for the liberation of enslaved nations and colonies, provided, always, they have land, and have not any liking for his interference. As to those who have no land, and would be glad of help from any quarter, he considers they can afford to wait a few hunderd years longer. In knowledge he is particularly rich. He knows all that can possibly be known; inclines to believe in spiritual rappings, and is the unquestioned inventor of Manifest Destiny.

168

(October 7, 1858, Speech at Galesburg, Ill.—Debates, p. 187.)

We have no clear and certain way of determining or demonstrating how fast territory is needed by the necessities of the country. Whoever wants to go out filibustering, then, thinks that more territory is needed. Whoever wants wider slave-fields feels sure that some additional territory is needed as slave territory. Then it is easy to show the necessity of additional slave territory as it is to assert anything that is incapable of absolute demonstration. Whatever motive a man or a set of men have for making annexation of property or terri-

tory, it is very easy to assert, but much less easy to disprove, that it is necessary for the wants of the country. And now it only remains for me to say that I think it a very grave question for the people of this Union to consider, whether in view of the fact that this slavery question has been the only one that has ever endangered our republican institutions—the only one that has ever threatened or menaced a dissolution of the Union, that has ever disturbed us in such a way as to make us fear for the perpetuity of our liberty—in view of these facts, I think it is an exceedingly interesting and important question for this people to consider whether we shall engage in the policy of acquiring additional territory, discarding altogether from our consideration, while obtaining new territory, the question how it may effect us in regard to this, the only endangering element to our liberties and national greatness.

169

(December 3, 1861, Annual Message—Raymond, p 222.)

To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years the question of constitutional power to do so is no

longer an open one with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object; for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for the white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population.

MONEY, GREENBACKS, SILVER AND GOLD.

170

(August 31, 1864, Speech to the 148th Ohio Regiment concerning the duty of maintaining the government—Van Buren, p. 382.)

I beg of you not to allow your minds or your hearts to be diverted from the support of all necessary measures for the purpose by any miserable picayune arguments addressed to your pockets or inflammatory appeal made to your passions and your prejudices.

171

(December 6, 1864, Annual Message—Raymond, p. 629.)

It seems quite clear that the treasury cannot be successfully conducted unless the government can exercise a restraining power over the bank-note circulation of the country.

172

(October 12, 1864, Interview with D. R. Locke—Coffin, p. 462.)

I cannot understand why men should be so eager after money. Wealth is simply a superfluity of what we don't need.

173

(November 10, 1864, Speech at a Serenade—Barrett, p. 662.)

Gold is good enough in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.

174

(December 20, 1839; Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 25.)

No duty is more imperative on the government than the duty it owes the people of furnishing them a sound and uniform currency.

175

(December 20, 1839, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 22.)

Any person who will reflect that money is only valuable while in circulation, will readily perceive that any device which will keep the government revenues in constant circulation, instead of being locked up in idleness, is no inconsiderable advantage.

176

(November 10, 1860, Letter to Truman Smith—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 654.)

I am not insensible to any commercial or financial depression that may exist, but nothing is to be gained by fawning around the "respectable scoundrels" who got it up. Let them go to work and

repair the mischief of their own making, and then, perhaps, they will be less greedy to do the like again.

177

(December 1, 1862, Annual Message—Raymond, p. 347.)

Fluctuations in the volume of currency are always injurious, and to reduce these fluctuations to the lowest possible point will always be a leading purpose in wise legislation.

178

(December 20, 1839, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—The Money Question—Shibley, p. 114.)

When one hundred millions, or more, of the circulation we now have shall be withdrawn, who can contemplate without terror the distress, ruin, bankruptcy and beggary that must follow. The man who has purchased an article—say a horse—on credit, at one hundred dollars, when there are two hundred millions circulating in the country, if the quantity be reduced to one hundred millions by the arrival of pay day, will (other conditions remaining the same) find the horse but sufficient to pay half the debt and the other half must either be paid out of his other means, and thereby become a clear loss to him, or go unpaid and thereby become a clear loss to the creditor.

What I have here said of a single case of the

purchase of a horse will hold good in every case of debt existing at the time a reduction in the quantity of money occurs, by whomsoever and for whatsoever it may have been contracted. It may be said that what the debtor loses the creditor gains by this operation, but on examination this will be found true only to a very limited extent. It is more generally true that all lose by it—the creditor losing more of his debts than he gains by the increased value of those he collects; the debtor by either parting with more of his property to pay his debts than he received in contracting them, or by entirely breaking up his business, and thereby being thrown upon the world in idleness.

The general distress thus created will, to be sure, be temporary, because whatever change may occur in the quantity of money in any community, time will adjust the derangement produced, but while adjustment is progressing all suffer more or less and very many lose everything that renders life desirable.

179

(June 20, 1848, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Raymond, p. 36.)

I would not borrow money. I am against an overwhelming crushing system. Suppose that at each session Congress shall first determine how much money can, for that year, be spared for improvements; then apportion that sum to the most

important objects. * * * The prelimited amount of means will save us from doing too much and the statistics will save us from doing what we do in the wrong places.

180

(December 20. 1839, Speech at Springfield, Ill., Speaking of the reports to the Secretary of the Treasury.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 28.)

Reports to be sure he will have, but reports are often false, and always false when made by a knave to cloak his knavery. Long experience has shown that nothing short of an actual demand of the money will expose an adroit peculator. Ask him for reports, and he will give them to your heart's content; send agents to examine and count the money in his hands, and he will borrow of a friend, merely to be counted and then returned, a sufficient sum to make the sum square. Try what you will, it will all fail till you demand the money; then, and not till then, the truth will come.

181

(April 14, 1865, Message to Miners of the West—Barrett, p. 836.)

Mr. Colfax, I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit. I have very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. I believe it is practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over

the Western country from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific and its development has scarcely commenced.

During the war while we were adding a couple million dollars every day to our debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of our precious metals. We had the country to save first. But now that the Rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine, we make the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now, I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry by furnishing suddenly a greater supply of labor than there will be demand for. I am going to try and attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges, where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even during the war has not stopped, will land on our shores hundreds of thousands more, per year, from overcrowded Europe. I intend to point them to the gold and silver that wait for them in the West.

Tell the miners for me that I shall promote their interest to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation, and we shall prove in a very few years that we are indeed the treasury of the world.

182

(April 14, 1865, To Schuyler Colfax—Coffin, p. 515.)

You are going to the Pacific coast (said Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Colfax, just as he started for Ford's theater). Do not forget to tell the people in the mining regions what I told you this morning about their development. Good-bye.

183

(Conversation with Ward Hill Lamon—Recollections by Lamon, p. 215. Gives description of making greenbacks.)

Yes, I think it is about—as the lawyer would say—in the following manner, to-wit: The engraver strikes off the sheets, passes them over to the register of currency, who places his earmarks upon them, signs them, hands them over to Father Spinner, who then places his wonderful signature at the bottom and turns them over to Mr. Chase, who, as secretary of the United States treasury, issues them to the public as money—and may the good Lord help any fellow that doesn't take all he can honestly get of them.

184

(December, 1864, Letter to Edmund D. Taylor, of Chicago, Ill.—Van Buren, p. 404.)

My Dear Colonel Dick: I have long determined to make public the origin of the greenback and tell the world that it is one of Dick Taylor's creations.

You have always been friendly to me and when troublous times fell upon us and my shoulders, though broad and willing, were weak, and myself surrounded by such circumstances and such people that I knew not whom to trust; then I said in my extremity, "I will send for Col. Taylor, he will know what to do." I think it was in January, 1862, on or about the 16th, that I did so. You came and I said to you "What can we do?" Said you: "Why, issue treasury notes, bearing no interest, printed on the best banking paper. Issue enough to pay off the army expenses and declare it legal tender." Chase thought it a hazardous thing, but we finally accomplished it and gave it to the people of this republic, the greatest blessing they ever had—their own paper to pay their own debts.

It is due to you, the father of the present greenback, that the people should know it, and I take great pleasure in making it known. How many times have I laughed at you telling me plainly that I was too lazy to be anything but a lawyer. Yours truly. A. Lincoln, President.

185

(November 21, 1864, Wm. F. Elkin—Shibley, p. 282.)

Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing its close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of

the flower of American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has been indeed a trying hour for the republic; but I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country.

As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.

TARIFF.

186

(May 12, 1860, Letter to Dr. Edward Wallace—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 634.)

I now think the tariff question ought not to be agitated at the Chicago convention, but that all should be satisfied on that point with a Presidential candidate whose antecedents give assurance that he would neither seek to force a tariff law by executive influence, nor yet to arrest a reasonable one by a veto or otherwise. Just such a candidate I desire shall be put in nomination.

187

(October 11, 1859, Letter to Dr. Edward Wallace—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 584.)

I have not since changed my views. I believe yet, if we could have a moderate, carefully adjusted protective tariff, so far acquiesced in as not to be a perpetual subject of political strife, squabbles, changes, and uncertainties it would be better for us. Still it is my opinion that just now the revival of that question will not advance the cause itself or the man who revives it.

188

(February 15, 1861, Speech at Pittsburg, Pa.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 679.)

We should do neither more nor less than we gave the people reason to believe we would when they gave us their votes. * * * I therefore would rather recommend to every gentleman who knows he is to be a member of the next Congress to take an enlarged view, and post himself thoroughly so as to contribute his part to such an adjustment of the tariff as shall produce a sufficient revenue, and in its other bearings, so far as possible, be just and equal to all sections of the country and classes of the people.

189

(March 6, 1860, Speech at New Haven, Conn.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 617.)

The old question of tariff—a matter that will remain one of the chief affairs of national housekeeping to all time; the question of the management of financial affairs; the question of the disposition of the public domain; how shall it be managed for the purpose of getting it well settled, and of making there the homes of a free and happy people—these will remain open and require attention for a great while yet, and these questions will have to be attended to by whatever party has the control of the government.

190

(February 15, 1861, Speech at Pittsburg, Pa.—Van Buren, p. 28.)

Assuming that direct taxation is not to be adopted, the tariff question must be as durable as the government itself. It is a question of national housekeeping. It is to the government what replenishing the meal-tub is to the family. Ever-varying circumstances will require frequent modifications as to the amount needed and the sources of supply. So far there is little difference of opinion among the people. * * * I therefore would rather recommend to every gentleman who knows he is to be a member of the next Congress to take an enlarged view and post himself thoroughly so as to contribute his part to such an adjustment of the tariff as shall produce a sufficient revenue, and, in its other bearings, so far as possible, be just and equal to all sections of the country and classes of the people.

PARTY POLICY.

191

(1861, Interview with Senator Maynard—Herndon, p. 508.)

I shall go just as fast and only as fast as I think I'm right and the people are ready for the step.

192

(November 20, 1863, In letter to Z. Chandler—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 440.)

I hope to "stand firm" enough not to go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause.

193

(July 28, 1859, From letter to S. Galloway—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 537.)

No party can command respect which sustains this year what it opposed last.

194

(Hapgood, p. 351—In regard to political quarrels.)

I am in favor of short statutes of limitations in politics.

195

(June 6, 1864, Indorsement on Letter—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 528.)

I wish not to interfere about vice-president.

Cannot interfere about platform. Convention must judge for itself.

196

(September 17, 1858, Answer to friends who advised him not to use the famous sentence, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."—Herndon, p. 400.)

If it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth—let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right.

197

(June, 1856, Speech at Springfield, Ill., in ratification meeting of the Bloomington Convention—two other persons only, being present.—Herndon, p. 386.)

While all seems dead, the age itself is not. It liveth as sure as our Maker liveth. Under all this seeming want of life and motion, the world does move nevertheless. Be hopeful, and now let us adjourn and appeal to the people.

198

(1855, Advice to Free-Soilers of Springfield, Ill., who talked of using force.—Herndon, p. 380.)

You can better succeed with the ballot. You can peaceably then redeem the government and preserve the liberties of mankind through your votes and voice and moral influence. * * * Let there be peace. Revolutionize through the ballot-box, and restore the government once more to the affections and hearts of men by making it express, as it

was intended to do, the highest spirit of justice and liberty.

199

(May 29, 1856, Speech at Bloomington Convention—Life of Lincoln, Tarbell, Vol. I, p. 298.)

In grave emergencies moderation is generally safer than radicalism. * * * As it now stands we must appeal to the sober sense and patriotism of the people. We will make converts day by day; we will grow stronger by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries; and unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie we will be in the majority after awhile, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures.

200

(March 6, 1860, Speech at New Haven, Conn.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 620.)

If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road, any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children, that would be another question. I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them. Much more, if I found it in bed with my neighbor's children, and I had bound myself by a solemn compact not to meddle with his children under any circumstances, it would become

me to let that particular mode of getting rid of the gentleman alone. But if there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were to be taken, and it was proposed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide.

201

(In Regard to Appointments—Hapgood, p. 349.)

I suppose that if the twelve apostles were to be chosen nowadays, the shrieks of locality would have to be heeded.

202

(March 1, 1859, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 528.)

I am afraid of the result upon organized action where great results are in view, if any of us allow ourselves to seek out minor or separate points, on which there may be difference of views as to policy and right, and let them keep us from uniting in action upon a great principle in a cause on which we all agree; or are deluded into the belief that all can be brought to consider alike and agree upon every minor point before we unite and press forward in organization, asking the co-operation of all good men in that resistance to slavery upon which we all agree. I am afraid that such methods would

result in keeping the friends of liberty waiting longer than we ought to. I say this for the purpose of suggesting that we consider whether it would not be better and wiser, so long as we all agree that this matter of slavery is a moral, political and social wrong, and ought to be treated as a wrong, not to let anything minor or subsidiary to that main principle and purpose make us fail to co-operate.

203

(February 27, 1860, Speech at Cooper Institute, New York—Howells, p. 213.)

Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong; vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of 'don't care' on a question about which all true men do care; such as union appeals beseeching true men to yield to disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling not the sinners but the righteous to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did. Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right

makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

204

(June 9, 1864, From Reply to a Delegation from the National Union League—Hapgood, p. 352.)

I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap.

205

(November 19, 1858, From Letter to A. G. Henry—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 521.)

As a general rule, out of Sangamon as well as in it, much of the plain old Democracy is with us, while nearly all the old exclusive silk-stocking whiggery is against us. I don't mean nearly all the Old Whig party, but nearly all of the nice exclusive sort.

206

(June 12, 1848, From Letter to Archibald Williams—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 122.)

In my opinion we shall have a most overwhelming, glorious triumph. One unmistakable sign is that all the odds and ends are with us—barnburners,

native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seeking locofocos, and the Lord knows what.

207

(July 6, 1859, From Letter to Schuyler Colfax—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 535.)

In a word, in every locality we should look beyond our noses; and at least say nothing on points where it is probable we shall disagree.

208

(February 27, 1860, Cooper Institute Speech, New York—Howells, p. 201.)

The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started—to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle.

209

(June 22, 1848, From Letter to William H. Herndon—Herndon, p. 284.)

Now, as to the young men. You must not wait to be brought forward by the older men. For instance, do you suppose that I should ever have got into notice if I had waited to be hunted up and

pushed forward by older men? You young men get together and form a "Rough and Ready Club," and have regular meetings and speeches. Take in everybody you can get. * * * As you go along gather up all the shrewd, wild boys about town, whether just of age or a little under age. * * * Let every one play the part he can play best—some speak, some sing and all halloo.

210

(February 22, 1842, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 59.)

When the conduct of men is designed to be influenced, persuasion, kind, unassuming persuasion should ever be adopted. It is an old and a true maxim, 'That a drop of honey catches more flies than a gallon of gall.' So with men. If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his sincere friend. Therein is a drop of honey that catches his heart, which, say what he will, is the great high road to his reason and which when once gained, you will find but little trouble in convincing his judgment of the justice of your cause, if indeed that cause really be a just one.

211

(May 14, 1859, Letter to M. W. Delahay—Herndon, p. 451.)

You will probably adopt resolutions in the nature of a platform. I think the only temptation will be to lower the Republican standard in order to gather

recruits. In my judgment such a step would be a serious mistake, and open a gap through which more would pass out than pass in. And this would be the same whether the letting down should be in deference to Douglasism or to the Southern opposition element; either would surrender the object of the Republican organization—the preventing of the spread and nationalization of slavery. This object surrendered, the organization would go to pieces. I do not mean by this that no Southern man must be placed upon our national ticket in 1860. There are many men in the slave States for any one of whom I could cheerfully vote to be either President or Vice-President, provided he would enable me to do so with safety to the Republican cause, without lowering the Republican standard. This is the indispensable condition of a union with us; it is idle to talk of any other. Any other would be as fruitless to the South as distasteful to the North, the whole ending in common defeat. Let a union be attempted on the basis of ignoring the slavery question, and magnifying other questions, which the people are just now not caring about, and it will result in gaining no single electoral vote in the South and losing every one in the North.

212

(August 22, 1862, Letter to Horace Greeley—Hanaford, p. 241.)

My paramount object is to save the Union and

not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it, if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. * *
I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

213

(To a Delegation of Ministers—Hapgood, p. 216.)

Gentlemen: Suppose all the property you possess were in gold and you had placed it in the hands of Blondin to carry across the Niagara River on a rope. With slow, cautious, steady step he walks the rope bearing your all. Would you shake the cable and keep shouting to him, "Blondin, stand up a little straighter;" "Blondin, stoop a little more; go a little faster; lean more to the south, now lean a little more to the north,"—would that be your behavior in such an emergency? No. You would hold your breath, every one of you, as well as your tongues. You would keep your hands off until he was safe on the other side. This government, gen-

tlemen, is carrying an immense weight, untold treasures are in its hands. The persons managing the Ship of State in this storm are doing the best they can. Don't worry them with needless warnings and complaints. Keep silence, be patient, and we will get you safe across.

214

(February 27, 1860, Speech at Cooper Institute, New York—Howells, p. 202.)

But you say you are conservative—eminently conservative—while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy, which was adopted by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live," while you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new.

215

(March 6, 1860, Speech at New Haven, Conn.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 622.)

You say you think slavery a wrong, but you renounce all attempts to restrain it. Is there anything else that you think wrong, that you are not willing to deal with as a wrong? Why are you so careful, so tender of this one wrong and no other? You will not let us do a single thing as if it was a wrong;

there is no place where you will allow it to be even called wrong. We must not call it wrong in the free States, because it is not there, and we must not call it wrong in the slave States, because it is there; we must not call it wrong in politics, because that is bringing morality into politics, and we must not call it wrong in the pulpit, because that is bringing politics into religion; we must not bring it into the Tract Society, or other societies, because those are such unsuitable places, and there is no single place, according to you, where this wrong thing can properly be called wrong.

216

(February 27, 1860, Speech at Cooper Institute, New York—Howells, p. 203.)

Again you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, re-adopt the precepts and policy of the old time.

217

(July 10, 1858, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Debates, p. 22.)

You have done the labor; maintain it—keep it. If men choose to serve you, go with them; but as you have made up your organization upon principle, stand by it; for as surely as God reigns over you and has inspired your mind, and given you a sense of propriety, and continues to give you hope, so surely will you still cling to these ideas, and you will at last come back again after your wanderings, merely to do your work over again.

218

(December 1-5, 1859, Speeches in Kansas—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 593.)

To effect our main object we have to employ auxiliary means. We must hold conventions, adopt platforms, select candidates and carry elections. At every step we must be true to the main purpose. If we adopt a platform falling short of our principle, or elect a man rejecting our principle, we not only take nothing affirmative by our success, but we draw upon us the positive embarrassment of seeming ourselves to have abandoned our principle.

That our principle, however baffled or delayed, will finally triumph, I do not permit myself to doubt. Men will pass away—die, die politically and naturally; but the principle will live and live forever.

Organizations rallied around that principle may, by their own dereliction, go to pieces, thereby losing all their time and labor; but the principle will remain, and will reproduce another, and another till the final triumph will come. But to bring it soon we must save our labor already performed—our organization, which has cost us so much time and toil to create.

We must keep our principle constantly in view, and never be false to it.

And as to men for leaders, we must remember that, 'He that is not for us is against us, and he that gathereth not with us scattereth.'

219

(September 17, 1859, Speech at Cincinnati, O.—Debates, p. 268.)

To do these things we must employ instrumentalities. We must hold conventions; we must adopt platforms, if we conform to ordinary custom; we must nominate candidates; and we must carry elections. In all these things I think that we ought to keep in view our real purpose, and in none do anything that stands adverse to our purpose. If we shall adopt a platform that fails to recognize or express our purpose, or elect a man that declares himself inimical to our purpose, we not only take nothing by our success, but we tacitly admit that we act upon no other principle than a desire to have 'the

loaves and fishes, by which, in the end, our apparent success is really an injury to us.

I know that it is very desirable with me, as with everybody else, that all the elements of the opposition shall unite in the next presidential election, and in all future time. I am anxious that that should be, but there are things seriously to be considered in relation to that matter. If the terms can be arranged, I am in favor of the union. But suppose we shall take up some man, and put him on one end or the other of the ticket, who declares himself against us in regard to the prevention of the spread of slavery, who turns up his nose and says he is tired of hearing anything more about it, who is more against us than against the enemy—what will be the issue? Why, he will get no slave States after all—he has tried that already until being beat is the rule for him. If we nominate him upon that ground, he will not carry a slave State, and not only so, but that portion of our men who are high strung upon the principle we really fight for will not go for him, and he won't get a single electoral vote anywhere, except, perhaps, in the State of Maryland. There is no use in saying to us that we are stubborn and obstinate because we won't do some such thing as this. We cannot do it. We cannot get our men to vote it. I speak by the card, that we cannot give the State of Illinois in such case by fifty thou-

sand. * * * After saying this much, let me say a little on the other side. There are plenty of men in the slave States that are altogether good enough for me to be either President or Vice-President, provided they will profess their sympathy with our purpose, and will place themselves on the ground that our men, upon principle, can vote for them. There are scores of them—good men in their character for intelligence, and talent, and integrity. If such a one will place himself upon the right ground, I am for his occupying one place upon the next Republican or Opposition ticket. I will heartily go for him. But unless he does so place himself, I think it a matter of perfect nonsense to attempt to bring about a union upon any other basis; that if a union be made, the elements will scatter so that there can be no success for such a ticket, nor anything like success. The good old maxims of the Bible are applicable, and truly applicable to human affairs, and in this, as in other things, we may say here that "he who is not for us is against us; he who gathereth not with us scattereth."

220

(June 17, 1858, Speech at Springfield, Ill., State Convention—Debates, p. 5.)

Our cause, then, must be entrusted to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work, who

do care for results. Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant and even hostile elements we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant, hot fire of a disciplined, proud and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now?—now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered and belligerent? The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail. Wise counsels may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but sooner or later the victory is sure too come.

221

(March 1, 1859, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 531.)

If we do not allow ourselves to be allured from the strict path of our duty by such a device as shifting our ground and throwing us into the rear of a leader who denies our first principles, denies that there is an absolute wrong in the institution of slavery, then the future of the Republican cause is safe and victory is assured. You Republicans of Illinois have deliberately taken your ground; you have heard the whole subject discussed again and again; you have stated your faith in platforms laid

down in a State convention and in a national convention; you have heard and talked over and considered it until you are now all of opinion that you are on a ground of unquestionable right. All you have to do is to keep the faith, to remain steadfast to the right, to stand by your banner. Nothing should lead you to leave your guns. Stand together, ready, with match in hand. Allow nothing to turn you to the right or the left. Remember how long you have been in setting out on the true course; how long you have been in getting your neighbors to understand and believe as you now do. Stand by your principles; stand by your guns, and victory, complete and permanent, is sure at the last.

222

(March 1, 1859, Speech at Chicago, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 529.)

I have believed that in the Republican situation in Illinois, if we, the Republicans of this State, had made Judge Douglas our candidate for the Senate of the United States last year, and had elected him, there would to-day be no Republican party in this Union. I believe that the principles around which we rallied and organized that party would live; they will live under all circumstances, while we die. They would produce another party in the future. But in the mean time all the labor that has been done to

build up the present Republican party would be entirely lost, and perhaps twenty years of time, before we would again have formed around that principle as solid, extensive and formidable an organization as we have, standing shoulder to shoulder, to-night, in harmony and strength around the Republican banner.

223

(December 1-5, 1859, Speeches in Kansas—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 592.)

The St. Louis "Intelligencer" is out in favor of a good man for President, to be run without a platform. Well, I am not wedded to the formal written platform system, but a thousand to one the editor is not himself in favor of his plan, except, with the qualification that he and his sort are to select and name the "good man." To bring him to the test, is he willing to take Seward without a platform? Oh, no; Seward's antecedents exclude him, say you. Well, is your good man without antecedents? If he is, how shall the nation know that he is a good man? The sum of the matter is that, in the absence of formal written platforms, the antecedents of candidates become their platform. On just such platforms all our earlier and better Presidents were elected, but this by no means facilitates a union of men who differ in principles.

224

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill.—Howells, p. 302.)

Our senator also objects that those who oppose him in this matter do not entirely agree with one another. He reminds me that in my firm adherence to the Constitutional rights of the slave States, I differ widely from others who are co-operating with me in opposing the Nebraska bill, and he says it is not quite fair to oppose him in this variety of ways. He should remember that he took us by surprise—astounded us by this measure. We were thunderstruck and stunned, and we reeled and fell in utter confusion. But we arose, each fighting, grasping whatever he could first reach—a scythe, a pitchfork, a chopping ax, or a butcher's cleaver. We struck in the direction of the sound, and we were rapidly closing in upon him. He must not think to divert us from our purpose by showing us that our drill, our dress and our weapons are not entirely perfect and uniform. When the storm shall be past he shall find us still Americans no less devoted to the continued union and prosperity of the country than heretofore.

225

(May 29, 1856, Speech at Bloomington, Ill., at the formation of party in the State—Arnold, p. 93.)

Let us, in building our new party, plant ourselves

on the rock of the Declaration of Independence and the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against us.

226

(October 16, 1854, Speech at Peoria, Ill., concerning fusion—Barrett, p. 127.)

Stand with anybody that stands right, stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong.

MISCELLANY—WAR, PEACE, TEMPERANCE, EMANCIPATION.

227

(1856, Brief Address to Springfield Abolitionists—Irelan, Vol. XVII, p. 683.)

Friends: I agree with you in providence, but I believe in the providence of the most men,—the longest purse and the largest cannon.

228

(April 4, 1864, Letter to Hodges—Barrett, p. 481.)

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.

229

(December 1, 1862, Annual Message—Van Buren, p. 233.)

In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity.

230

(December 20, 1839, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 26.)

What has once happened will invariably happen again when the same circumstances which combined to produce it shall again combine in the same way.

231

(March 9, 1832, Address to the People of Sangamon County, Ill.—Irelan, Vol. XVI, p. 102.)

Holding it a sound maxim that it is better only sometimes to be right than at all times wrong, so soon as I discover my opinions to be erroneous I shall be ready to renounce them.

232

(March 1, 1864, Letter to Secretary Stanton—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 490.)

I do not like this punishment of withholding pay: it falls so very hard on poor families.

233

(February 5, 1864, Note to Secretary of War—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 478.)

On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has done no wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter.

234

(Coffin, p. 89.)

All questions of social and moral reform find lodgment first with enlightened souls, who stamp them with their approval. In God's own time they will be organized into law, and thus woven into the fabric of our institutions.

235

(February 11, 1861, Speech on Leaving Springfield for Washington—Herndon, p. 486.)

My friends: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feelings of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you; and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

236

(March 4, 1861, First Inaugural—Van Buren, p. 61.)

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land,

will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

237

(August 26, 1863, Letter to James C. Conkling—Herndon, p. 555.)

For the great republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

238

(August 15, 1864, From Interview with John T. Mills—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 562.)

There have been men base enough to propose to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe.

239

(May 30, 1864, Letter to J. H. Bryant in reference to Owen Lovejoy—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 526.)

My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate, and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending with his life, in no less than affection on my part. It can be truly said of him that while he was personally ambitious he bravely endured the obscurity which the unpopu-

larity of his principles imposed, and never accepted official honors until those honors were ready to admit his principles with him. Throughout very heavy and perplexing responsibilities here, to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend.

Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men.

240

(January 2, 1863, Letter to General S. R. Curtis—Complete Worke, Vol. II, p. 291.)

The United States government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches.

241

(February 11, 1864, Note to Secretary Stanton—Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 480.)

I have never interfered nor thought of interfering as to who shall or who shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority.

If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me. * * * I will not have control of any church on any side.

242

(July 16, 1852, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 176.)

Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues, and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea, for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them more than four hundred years. May like disasters never befall us.

243

(July 10, 1848, Letter to W. H. Herndon—Herndon, p. 285.)

The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There may sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young man down; and they will succeed, too, if he allows his mind to be diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted injury. Cast about and see if this feeling has not injured every person you have ever known to fall into it.

244

(February 22, 1842, From an Address Before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 59.)

When all such of us as have now reached the years of maturity first opened our eyes upon the stage of existence, we found intoxicating liquor recognized by everybody, used by everybody, repudiated by nobody. It commonly entered into the first draught of the infant and the last draught of the dying man. From the sideboard of the parson down to the ragged pocket of the houseless loafer it was constantly found. Physicians prescribed it in this, that, and the other disease; government provided it for soldiers and sailors; and to have a rolling or raising, a husking or 'hoedown' anywhere about without it was positively insufferable. So, too, it was everywhere a respectable article of manufacture and merchandise. The making of it was regarded as an honorable livelihood, and he who could make most was the most enterprising and respectable. Large and small manufactories of it were everywhere erected, in which all the earthly goods of their owners were invested. Wagons drew it from town to town; boats bore it from clime to clime, and the winds wafted it from nation to nation, and merchants bought and sold it, by the wholesale and retail, with precisely the same feelings on the part of the seller, buyer and bystander as are felt

at the selling and buying of plows, beef, bacon, or any other of the real necessaries of life. Universal public opinion not only tolerated but recognized and adopted its use. * * * Whether or not the world would be vastly benefited by a total and final banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks seems to me not now an open question. Three-fourths of mankind confess the affirmative with their tongues and I believe all the rest acknowledge it in their hearts.

245

(February 22, 1842, Speech at Springfield, Ill.—Complete Works, Vol. 1, p. 63.)

Of our political revolution of '76 we are all justly proud. It has given us a degree of political freedom far exceeding that of any other nation of the earth. In it the world has found a solution of the long mooted problem as to the capability of man to govern himself. In it was the germ which has vegetated, and still is to grow and expand into the universal liberty of mankind. * * * Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; in it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest; even the dram-maker and dram-

seller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. And what a noble ally this to the cause of political freedom; with such an aid its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-quenching draughts of perfect liberty. Happy day when —all appetites controlled, all poisons subdued, all matter subjected—mind, all conquering mind, shall live and move, the monarch of the world. Glorious consummation! Hail, fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail!

246

(September 29, 1863, From Reply to Sons of Temperance—Barrett, p. 827.)

If I were better known than I am, you would not need to be told that in the advocacy of the cause of temperance you have a friend and sympathizer in me.

When I was a young man—long ago—before the Sons of Temperance as an organization had an existence—I, in a humble way, made temperance speeches, and I think I may say that to this day I have never, by my example, belied what I then said. * * * I think the reasonable men of the world have long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of all evils

among mankind. That is not a matter of dispute, I believe. That the disease exists, and that it is a very great one, is agreed upon by all.

247

(February 22, 1861, Speech at Harrisburg, Penn.—Complete Works, Vol. I, p. 692.)

Allusion has been made to the peaceful principles upon which this great commonwealth was originally settled. Allow me to add my meed of praise to those peaceful principles. I hope no one of the friends who originally settled here, or who lived here since that time, or who lives here now, has been or is a more devoted lover of peace, harmony, and concord than my humble self.

While I have been proud to see to-day the finest military array, I think, that I have ever seen, allow me to say, in regard to those men, that they give hope of what may be done when war is inevitable. But at the same time, allow me to express the hope that in the shedding of blood their services may never be needed, especially in the shedding of fraternal blood. It shall be my endeavor to preserve the peace of this country so far as it can possibly be done consistently with the maintenance of the institutions of the country. With my consent, or without my great displeasure, this country shall never witness the shedding of one drop of blood in fraternal strife.

248

(June 16, 1864, Speech at Sanitary Fair, Philadelphia, Penn.—Van Buren, p. 366.)

War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property and ruined homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country; it has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the "heavens are hung in black." * * * We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when the object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will end until that time. Speaking of the present campaign, General Grant is reported to have said, "I am going through on this line if it takes all summer." This war has taken three years. It was begun or accepted upon the line of restoring the national authority over the whole national domain, and for the American people, as far as my knowledge enables me to speak, I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more.

249

(January 1, 1863, Irelan, Vol. XVII, p. 246.)

The Proclamation of Emancipation.

Whereas on the twenty-second day of September,

in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to-wit:

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be, then, thenceforth and forever, free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the State, and parts of States, if any, in which the people therein respectively shall then be in rebellion, against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such

State and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above mentioned order, designate as the States, wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans; Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts

are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand

and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

William H. Seward,
Secretary of State.

250

(December 8, 1863, Annual Message—Complete Works, Vol. 11, p. 453.)

According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the general government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented.